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lead pencil which fall about his shoulders something in the manner of the Chief Justice's wig. Notwithstanding grease and dirt, it is a distinctly becoming mode, particularly when to the profusion of his locks he adds the tassels of red-dyed *kapiya*, the transparent skin that lines the inner side of the areca spathe. To an Orokaiva his hair is assuredly felt to be a crowning glory, though it is often far from being the well-trimmed and flowing mass that I have pictured. His head is sometimes scraggy and sometimes even bald—a state which is regarded with curious aversion and attributed to some early indiscretion or ceremonial neglect.

The hair is cut short in mourning, and sometimes as a last desperate measure to free it from lice. In the former case it is an example of the self-sacrifice or self-castigation which is so common in sorrow, though a man may allow himself a little decorative effect as compensation for the loss (*vide* concentric circles on Plate XXVII). Nowadays many wear their hair short for mere convenience.

A woman's hair is dressed in the same way as a man's while she is young, i.e. with tags and red streamers. At marriage she is likely, though not bound, to cut it short; and when she has borne a child or two she will certainly do so. This I am assured is a case of modesty: a matron does not care to masquerade as a 'flapper' (and the same reason is given for the fact that married women wear comparatively few ornaments). Some informants have also suggested that a husband does not care to see his wife make herself too attractive to other men, and others that a mass of long hair interferes with the carrying of the *eti*, or string bag for taro.

Natives are clean-shaven except for some old men and some who have allowed their beards to grow in mourning. The beard is never of very strong growth. Nowadays moustaches are commonly copied from the white man and especially affected by those who have served in the Armed Constabulary. Shaving is done with a glass fragment (formerly one of quartz); with twisted fibres; and by plucking out the hairs with a bivalve for tweezers.

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slayer is assimilating some of the courage and fierceness of his victim, though it must be remembered that the liver is regarded as the seat of fear as well as of these more warlike emotions, and, indeed, it is presumably by his very deficiency in these latter that the victim was unable to look after his liver.

The tabu on the flesh of the slain applies not only to the slayer but to his father, mother, and nearest relatives. If they were rash enough to partake, their genitalia would swell, their joints grow crooked, and their heads turn bald. (Though in the case of an old man, it was said that these results need not be feared.) In view of such alarming risks it seems likely that there was in the person of the slain something like infection to that of the slayer. Other details confirm this view. The Orokaiva has a lively dread of *baupeni* (or elephantiasis of the scrotum) and swelling of the joints—both of which afflictions are seen in the Division. The slayer immediately removed his *bo*, or perineal band, and wore a leaf or nothing until he reached home and could effect a change of clothing: this was a precaution against *baupeni*. If he had dispatched the victim with a club he would straightway change this for another man's: on no account would he *shoulder* the club that struck the fatal blow, for he would run a risk of a swollen or distorted shoulder-joint.

Again the slayer must perform certain rites and observe certain tabus. He must not drink pure water out of the river, but only that which has been stirred up and made muddy by the feet of a non-slayer. He must not eat taro cooked in the pot, but only that which has been roasted in the open fire. He must abstain from sexual intercourse. These restrictions lasted for a few days and then the slayer ate the same purificatory stew (*suna*) which is given to initiates at the end of their seclusion (see p. 193). Among the Binandele I witnessed a mock demonstration of a peculiar rite which immediately preceded the eating of the *suna*. The slayer climbs into a small tree which contains a nest of those large and aggressive insects commonly called 'green' ants. The tree should properly be of the kind called *Bobo*, which

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881 common articles of diet. Comparing five lists made in different parts of the Division, I find that they all contain 262 taro, pig, and coco-nut in common; three contain *Puga* and *Tauga*; two bread-fruit and a kind of banana; while the other ingredients are various, with the exception of *simbiri*, or croton, which occurs in four of the five lists.

881 The initiates gather round the dish of *suna* and bend over it so as to be fumigated by the rising steam. They hold their 264 hands in the steam, and then withdrawing them massage 783 their joints. They take handfuls of the hot leaves and apply them to their private parts, their hip-joints, their elbows, their arm-pits, &c. They end by eating the stew. The other villagers stand by, themselves partaking and sponging their bodies with the leaves. The *suna* is sometimes set out in a wooden dish (*teva*) and a hot stone placed in it to increase the volume of steam, while the initiates stooping over the dish may be covered with pandanus mats to give them something like a Turkish bath.

After partaking of the *suna* the initiate is at liberty to resume his full diet. (During the last two or three days he has eaten nothing but banana and sugar-cane.) But even so he must be cautious. Before passing him a piece of taro one of the elders will pass it under his legs—a queer precaution which appears again and again in Orokaiva ceremonies, either as a purification or as a prophylaxis. Having thus received the taro, the hungry initiate must nibble it only and put it aside for a while. Furthermore, he must not handle it, but convey it to his mouth on a piece of stick as a fork. If [826] he should handle it and afterwards scratch his head the penalty would be the severe one of baldness.

Meaning and Purpose of the Ceremonies

881 *Initiation.* The actual occurrences of the initiation cycle having been described we are now in a position to discuss their meaning and purpose. We may begin by considering the initiation ceremony described on pp. 180–3. Laying special stress upon the fact that the terrifying threats of the spirits against the candidates are apparently averted by the

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The ideal Orokaiva is not a fat man, but well-conditioned.

Either by nature or by manner of life he is prevented from 'running to fat', so that the ideal never borders on adiposity. But he admires plumpness as he abhors skinniness. I was never able to discover a word in his language for fat, stout, or obese (indeed, there are, generally speaking, no such figures to be seen); but for a comparatively well-fleshed body he simply uses the word 'good'. Altogether I think we may attach a good deal of value to the native's own explanation of seclusion, and may conclude that the principal purpose of that seclusion is to make the initiate put on flesh, to bring him as near to an admired condition of plumpness as the physical make-up and the *milieu* of an Orokaiva will permit.

Just as the native admires a well-conditioned body, so he has a peculiar sensitiveness regarding physical deformity, and a horror of projecting bones and skinniness. An interesting evidence of this is found in the swear-words or terms of abuse which he uses. Besides such expressions as *Sovai-ta-mei* (son of a *sovai*) and *Pureambo* (waster or lazy-bones), there are *Temburite* (skinny-ribs), *Teperete* (spindle-shanks), *Kumuperete* (which means that the backbone is visible), *Abo-pokumo* (too much of the sacral vertebrae), *Utu-jabuti* (elephantiasis legs), *Tunga-dipori* (long neck), *Tengeu-pepeki* (big ears). Not a few of his ritual precautions are aimed at preventing these deformities, and it appears that he is specially liable to contract them at the end of his seclusion. Hence the precautionary and purificatory observances which we see at the end of the cycle. For instance, the initiate is not allowed to sit on the ground for fear of *baupeni* (elephantiasis of the scrotum). It is necessary to provide a mat for him to sit on while he is being decorated, and a log while he is going through the *ate-ate* ceremony. Similarly there are various precautions against baldness, which I have mentioned; and before he is quite free to come and go as he pleases he must pass through a general purificatory rite, viz. that of the *suna*. The object of the *suna* is expressly to prevent bodily deformities or afflictions such as the prevalent glandular swelling in the groin or the swelling or distortion of joints.

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In fine it may be argued that the seclusion, together with the purificatory rites at the end of it, aim (the one in a positive manner, the other in a negative or precautionary manner) at the physical perfection of the initiate.

I have never met with any native rationale for the *suna qua* ceremonial observance; but a very similar process is sometimes used in the treatment of sickness; and as the argument is in this case fairly clear it may throw some light upon the rite in general. A man who has for some time been suffering from headache and general pains submits himself to treatment called *jura*.[1] Various leaves (*Tebo*, *Hamanya*, *Bakimo*, *Haiva*, *Hamburi*, *Kore*, *Urga*, are the names of some of them—but there are many recipes for *jura*) are scraped and pounded in a wooden dish with coco-nut oil. The patient squats over it covering himself with a pandanus mat, a hot stone is slipped into the dish, and he sits in a cloud of steam. The only remarkable feature about the leaves used is that they all possess a more or less strong smell (*munu*), that of the *tebo* being in European nostrils nothing short of abominable.

Now it is a very common Orokaiva theory that sickness may be due to the immanence of the spirits of the dead in the patient, and I have been assured on more than one occasion that they may be driven out by noisome medicines, simply, it is said, because they cannot endure the smell. The object of the *jura* fumigation, therefore, seems to be to drive out the malignant spirits; and (although I have not noted whether it possessed any strong smell) the ceremonial *suna* may possibly be used with the same idea. The novices during their true initiation in the *embabi* ceremony, and during their subsequent seclusion and association with the flutes and bull-roarer, have been in intimate association with the spirits of the dead—*sowai*, *embabi*, or *siango*. The fact that there is a vast deal of sham in the whole cycle of ceremonies does not altogether preclude a belief that the *embabi* are really present. As we have observed, make-believe and true

[1] See p. 297. The word is sometimes given to the ceremonial rite which I have called *suna* throughout, but I have not heard the word *suna* given to the 'medical' process.